2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

more than for the other male relatives and he, at need, would hunt or till the land for her. But the relationship was one of help without intimacy. 593

The close tie with siblings of one's own sex and respectful help to the opposite sex, continued into adult life. The brothers, during their father's lifetime, worked together under him, often living in the same house and bringing their wives home to share it. On the father's death, they built themselves separate houses but often they continued to share the land and its proceeds, their wives cooking together in a common kitchen. (I. 2. A; I. V. A and C). 592 593

Even if the brothers divided their land, they acted in many way as an economic unit. Ceremonial payments falling upon one member were made by the whole group or by that member who could best afford it. Vengeance for murder — a rare occurence — fell on any member of the group who was available. Dependant relatives were billetted in any of the houses as convenient and the yqung people of the group worked for any member as ordered. The junior levirate was strongly in force and an older brother, dying, would be replaced in his household by one of the younger ones. 593 [628 682] [587]

The companionship of sisters somethimes lasted equally long. After sleeping on the same mat through childhood two of them, or even three or four, might be married to the same man and continue to share their tasks till death. Even though they were not co-wives during life, the younger might marry her sister's widower and care for her sister's children. [587]

But when the sororate was not convenient, the connection of sisters with all their siblings temporarily lapsed. A woman was always expected to marry into another village so as to avoid her blood kin, and in her husband's household she became part of a new female group, composed of sisters-in-law married to the sons of the family. Often she was too far off for her siblings even to send her gifts, for only one gift exchange between such a brother and sister is mentioned (I. 3. B). If her brothers went through ceremonial purification, she might not know of it and would be absolved from bathing and fasting. She would go through these rites with her new family; her husband and his resident brothers. [582]

But this separation, dependent on geographic limitations, was often only temporary. If the sister's marriage was broken up by death or divorce, she immediately returned home. (I. 3. B). If she were too old to remarry, her brothers would provide for her as suited their arrangements: either in a house with one of them, in a separate house, with a field of her own or with produce from the common field. If she was still young, it was their duty to find her 593 587 584

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463 A specialist exercised his craft as his part of the family work and
421 was excused from other labor. He supplied the family with as much
592 of his product as was needed, for use and gifts and the rest he traded
His product might be considered individual property in that no one but he had the right to dispose of it and that payment was made to him personally. But he gave the payment to the family just as the younger members gave their labor and if he gambled his products, he gave the family the winnings. Papago needs were such that the family unit required the full time labor of all its members and few thought of operating independently.

421 The family owned very little permanent property, the food which
592 was obtained and consumed every year, constituting almost its entire capital. Such other goods as they had were managed for the benefit of all by the heads of the two working groups: the patriarch for the men, his wife for the women. The patriarch directed the building of a new house or camp and traded when necessary for house posts or stone for tools. It was he who decided on gifts of agricultural produce or meat though he might consult with his wife. The wife managed the use of household mats, pots and baskets. When more were needed, she either had them made in the household or traded for them with womens' goods. She decided on the distributions of cooked food and the harvest from the womens' food gathering. Relics of this system can still be seen in the careful way in which the modern Papago family often separates "man's money" and "woman's money" the woman paying for household goods with her baskets and the man for his saddle with home made rope.

422 Since Kino's time, the Papago have begun to own cattle, at first
[462] in the lands near Mexico, later in the north. Cattle are in charge of the men, like house building and agriculture and their care is directed by the family head. He usually delegates one of his sons as cowboy, just as in former times, one was the hunter. If there are few cattle, the one cowboy may take charge of the cattle of several related families who in turn give produce to his family but not to him personally unless they are very modern.

Each individual had, as his personal property, the scanty clothes he wore, the tools and weapons used and probably some paint and gambling sticks. The whole equipment could be carried on his back, as a girl's was when she went to her husband's house. But more important was ceremonial property: the shaman's plumes, the animal fetish of the curing singer, the eagle feathers, sea shells or Apache scalp won by the "ripe man". These were the most personal of all property for no one but the owner dared touch them —

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APPENDIX I

PAPAGO FAMILY GROUPS, SHOWING LAND USE AND GIFT RELATIONSHIPS

592● 621

1. Group at Kuitatk (Mesquite Root) about 1850—1860, informant 26

Mesquite Root was an ancient town in which people had gathered for many generations for fear of the Apache. Containing 300 people, it was too large to be composed only of relatives but related groups clustered together. All the land around Mesquite Root was inherited in different families and those who needed more land had to move.

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The group under consideration were the five children of a widow who had married in *Kuiwo*, Sloping Ground, but returned to her native village after her husband's death. Since she had few brothers, she had always retained a share in the family land there, and her eldest son had come back in the summers to cultivate it. When her husband died, she left his land at Sloping Ground to his brother and returned to use her own family land. She lived in a house with her oldest son and his family, while the other sons and one daughter clustered about them in a half circle.

In the dry season, instead of using the Well of Mesquite Root, the family went back to that of their father's family, Badger Well. Here they met paternal relatives, two great uncles and a distant female cousin, with whom they had the same gift relations as they did at Mesquite Root with the mother's relatives.

House A

1. The Gambler, governor of Mesquite Root
2. wife of A 1
3. mother of A 1
4. daughter
5. son
6. son

Living arrangements: A 1, the oldest son built his house in a central position, the houses of his three brothers and one sister grouped around it. Each house had its own kitchen and storehouse, but the women took turns cooking for the whole group. Each woman cooked for one day (two meals) choosing what she would use from her own storehouse. Children were sent to the neighboring houses to collect empty bowls and return full, one bowl for each married couple, one bowl for their children.

Land: The four sons divided their father's land, giving a strip also to their sister (see below) and to a father's older brother's son, called older uncle.

[p.211]

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●592 Work sharing: They worked the land together but each stored his share of the harvest separately. They needed no outside help.
Gifts: When A 1 killed a deer, he gave enough for two meals to each of the sibling families. Any left over went to more distant relatives in rotation. They made return in kind. When he killed a steer, which was larger, he sent to all relatives in Mesquite Root. A 2, after picking cactus fruit, took gifts to: the siblings in the home group: to a female 1st cousin and L, a distant uncle. Food gifts were sent twice a week to a "distant paternal cousin" at Whirling Water (1, 2 Gl).

House B

1 Rat Ears y b of A 1
2 wife of B 1
small children, not remembered
Living arrangements, land and gifts as with A 1

House C

1 Big Vulva y b of A 1
2 wife of C 1
small children not remembered
Living arrangements, land and gifts as with A 1

House D

1 head
2 Maria Ignacia, y si of A 1
small children not remembered
Living arrangements, work and gifts as with A 1

Land: D 2 had married a man from Whirling Water, but he was an orphan with no relatives there; so he came to work with his wifes' family who allowed him a strip of land.

House E

1 Corncob y b of A 1
2 wife
Living arrangements, land, work and gifts as with A 1
Other relatives living in Mesquite Root but not in the above group

House F

1 Head
2 Running Clouds, wife of F 1, m o si d of A 1
Children
This house was much nearer than those of all the other relatives and almost one of the family group.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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Living arrangements: The family had separate living arrangements. Although brothers of F 2 were in the village, they were too far away for cooperative housekeeping.

Land: The land belonged in the family of F 2, whose mother had been the sister of A 3, but these two women, having no brothers, had remained on the land. The husband of F 2 also lived in Mesquite Root and cultivated his own land there as well as his wife's.

Work sharing: The brothers both of F 1 and F 2 gave assistance at harvest and exchanged harvest gifts.

Gifts: The household sent almost as many food gifts to houses A B C D E as to the nearer relatives, G and H. The reason seems to have been geographic nearness which brought intimacy.

More Distant Houses at Mesquite Root

All these sent occasional food gifts to houses A B C D E F, invited them into their fields at harvest time and sent them venison now and then, all of which was reciprocated in equal quantity.

House G

1 Head, b of F 2

Living arrangements: Cooperative housekeeping with House H

Land: Shared land with H 1

Work: Called in House H

Gifts: Food gifts at almost every meal to House H. Occasionally, in turn to all others.

House H

1 Head, b of F 2 and G 1
arrangements as with house G

House I

1 Head, m o half si s s of A 1

House J

1 Head, b of L 1

Houses I and J had cooperative housekeeping and shared their fields. Sent regular food gifts to houses G and H, their half cousins.

House K

1 Head, m o s s of A 1

House L

1 Head, yb of A 2

House M

1 Head
wife "distant older sister" of A 1

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

House N

592 1 Pointed Shoes head, distant nephew to A 1
(House O same as 1, 2, House G)
1 Little Eyes ffss to A 1
This family lived five miles away in the valley, whence water was fetched when the pond at Mesquite Root began to dry. The daughter of A 1 was sent there almost once a week with food gifts.

House P
at Sloping Ground, father's old home

1 Head fb of A 1
2 wife
3 son
4 son
5 son
6 son

Land: P 1 used the land belonging to the father of A 1, B 1, C 1, D 2, E 1. This land had been deserted when its owner, his brother, died and the widow A 3 moved back to her own family land at Mesquite Root.

Gifts: This family was invited at harvest and given produce which they reciprocated.

About thirty relatives of A 2 lived at Kaka, in a different valley. At harvest, they sent for House A to come and help themselves and the guests once stayed a year. At their own harvest they gave a similar invitation.

592 621 2. Households at Sikorhimat (Whirling Water) about 1860—1870
informant 26

Whirling Water was an old settlement with inherited lands. The well was Covered Wells, used also by Santa Rosa. However, the two groups did not mix but kept, the one to the wash, the other to the high land. There was no gift exchange between them even though some of their members were distantly related.

592 House A

1 household head, (a shaman) f o b s of B 1
2 wife of A 1 m si to B 1
3 Shady Bow, son of A 1 and A 2 f o b s of H 2
4 Maria Chona, wife of A 3 f f b d to C 1
5 Winged, son of A 1 and A 2
2 Feather Tips wife of A 5
7 Skirt String, son of A 1 and A 2
8 wife of Skirt String, d of C 1
9 Basket Unravelled, son of A 1 and A 2
Shining Evening, son of A 1 and A 2, transvestite

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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Living arrangements: All lived in one large house with shade for cooking, common storehouse, women all worked together at cooking, men in fields. Even before the father's, death A 5 and A 7 built separate sleeping houses for themselves and their wives. After the father's death, all built separate houses, the mother living with the transvestite. All still cooked together and used a common storehouse.

Land: The land was hereditary in the father's family and the sons all worked it together. When they needed more land "they simply moved the boundary line."

Work sharing: For help in the field, the family called on the father and mother of A 4 who lived in Mesquite Root. They were the only parents-in-law who found it convenient to come. They would be given two large winnowing baskets of beans or a pile of unhusked corn some four feet in diameter. Others asked were E 2, paternal aunt of A 1 and G 1 and his wives who were second cousins to A 4.

Gifts: The men of this family were good hunters and famous for their gifts of meat. When A 1 killed a deer, he sent his daughter-in-law A 4 with a full carrying basket of the meat to her parents some 15 miles away. They re-filled the basket with corn, beans, and cactus syrup. The son, A 3, killed a deer three or four times a month and always sent a piece to his parents-in-law. "They liked meat. That was why they married their daughter into a hunting family." Meat was also given at every killing to House E and House H, where lived the brothers of A 2 and House C, a classificatory brother of A 2. The other households received their turn in rotation. The household sent produce to the wife's relatives at Mesquite Root, these being m y b and a second cousin of A 2. She had no nearer relatives.

House B

1 Yellowlegs, household head, first cousin of A 1
2 co-wife no. 1, si of A 1
3 s of B 2
4 s of B 2
5 co-wife no. 2, si of A 1 and B 2
6 s of A 5
7 d of A 5
8 d of A 5

Living: All lived in one house until the parents' death, then moved to Pima country.

Land: The women, sisters of A 1, should have moved to their husband's land, but it was not good. On the other hand A 1, the only man in the family, had plenty of land; so B 1 moved to Whirling Water and cultivated part of it for his wives. When he and the wives died, it should have gone to the sons, but one

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

592 son and a daughter died at almost the same time; so the others did not care to stay. They moved to the Pima country.

House C

1 Tattooed Old Man, household head, ffbs to A 2
2 kuiwonyi wife
3 Riboso, son of A 1 and A 2
4 wife of C 3
5 Singing Instrument son of A 1 and A 2
6 Wife of C 5
(a daughter married to A 7 in same village)

Living arrangements: The two sons built separate sleeping huts as they married, but the family had a common storehouse and kitchen.

Land: The brothers kept the land in common and pooled the produce.

House D

1 Woman-Lover, household head, f m m d s of A 2 Distant relative A 1
2 wife
3 vilantate, son of C 1 and C 2
4 wife of C 3
(two sons dead, a daughter married at the Hollow)

Living arrangements: One large house with common kitchen and storehouse.
Father and son worked the field together.

House E

1 Iron Eyes (name bestowed in joke by a transvestite)
2 Flower Dew, co-wife no. 1 f as to A 1
3 Running Ahead, son of E 1 and E 2
4 Chona (Encarnacion) co-wife no 2, sis of D 2 ffs to A 1
5 Pitalito, son of E 1 and E 6
6 Haviala, d of E 1 and E 6

Living: All in one house with common storehouse and kitchen. On the head's death both wives were too old to remarry. One went back to her brother, the other to her married daughter.

Land: The land was hereditary in husband's family. Two of his sons used their wives' land in the same village. E 5 continued to work his father's land but he had no sons and on his death the land was deserted.

House F

1 Salty Forehead, household head, b of D 1
2 wife si of A 2

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3 son of D 1 and D 2, (died)
(sons all married and lived on their wives' land, there being no one to take care of it. Wives of first 2 were sisters and orphans. Wife of third had no brothers.)
When F 1 and F 2 grew old, there was no one to care for their land. They went to Topawa where lived a brother of F 1.
Gifts: Sons, living at a distance, would send for F 1 at harvest time 85 miles away and would load his saddle bags and pack horse. He made the trip three or four times every harvest.

House G

1 Little Eyes, head f f f s s of A 4
2 Salomena, co-wife no. 1, f f b s d of A 4
3 Tcucuuwuk, co-wife no. 2, y si of G 2
4 Rustling Leaves, co-wife no. 3, y si of G 2 and G 3
5 Gold, yb of G 1
6 Wife of G 5, si of G 2, 3 and 4
7 Flower Shoes, y si of G 1

Living arrangements: cooperative housekeeping
Land: G 1 and G 2 had land at Santa Rosa but all their relatives had died; so they had come to use the land of their wives.
Gifts: Occasional food gifts to other households at Whirling Water but also sent back to Santa Rosa. One connection from there now lived at Mesquite Root (House A) and with this family gifts were exchanged once a week.

House H

1 Feeling Happy, household head, yb of A 2, ceremonial leader
2 Pilito, co-wife no. 1
3 Dolores, d of G 1 and G 2
4 Having Spanish Beans, son of G 1 and G 2
5 Wife of G 4
6 Water Scum, co-wife no. 2
7 Woman Magician d of G 1 and G 6
8 Malia, d of G 1 and G 8

Living arrangements: The whole family lived in one house. The two daughters of G 6 married one man and went with him to Mesquite Root. Wives of G 6 died and the son and his wife continued to live with the father. When he died, son tore down the house, then rebuilt it and lived there, using the land. Son's wife died and he took another, unrelated.
Land: Hereditary in the family

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●592 A second group. distantly related to the first and exchanging gifts with them only rarely. (informant 43)

House H

1 Letting-Go, head
2 Wife
3 Widowed daughter of H 1 and H 2 who had returned home after her husband's death
4 d of H 3

House I

1 head
2 wife, si of H 1
3 Margarita, d, died young
4 Tilisa (Theresa), d, died young
5 Lilian
6 d, died in infancy
7 d, died in infancy

Living arrangements: H and I were organized as one, with two brush huts and a common kitchen. H 2 managed them both, and directed the other women. She decided what food was to be used and went to the storehouse for it; the others did not go without permission.

Land: The land was hereditary in the family of H 1. He shared it with his sister's husband, I 1, because he needed a man to help him. The two men worked the land as a unit and formed a common household. H 3, the widowed daughter of H 1 came home from Archie and was given no land but simply formed a part of the household.

Work sharing: H 1 and I 1 pooled labor and results.

Gifts: Food gifts were given only when there was plenty for a meal. A basket of food containing about a quart was sent every two or three days to House J which contained the only near relatives. Much more rarely a small gift of cactus syrup or other delicacy was sent to House A. H 1 was a hunter and always took part of his kill to House J. An equivalent amount of corn and beans was returned the same day. He did not give meat to his more distant relatives but dried and kept it.

House J

1 widow of younger brother of A 2
2 d of J 1
3 d of J 2
4 d of J 2
5 d of J 2
6 s of J 2
7 s of J 2
8 b of J 1
9 si of J 1

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Living arrangements: All the family lived in one house, the younger women working under the direction of J 1 who was almost senile but domineering.

Land: The land had been in the family of J 1 who had returned there after her husband's death.

Work sharing: All the men worked the land together and pooled the products.

Gifts: A quart basket of cooked food was sent every two or three days to Houses H and I. When H 1 sent meat, this family reciprocated the same day with corn and beans.

3. Households at wahw kihk (Standing Rock) 1870—1890 informant 26

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This was a new settlement founded by a group of relatives from Mesquite Root because the latter town was crowded and had insufficient water. The discoverer who made Standing Rock habitable was Dried Seeds, mother's younger brother to A 1 and B 2, both of whom followed him to the new place. Other relatives and connections followed, the women bringing their husbands so that in this case patrilineal residence broke down for economic reasons. The special group described is that of informant's second husband with his sisters and half sisters, all of whom lived close together. They lived at Standing Rock all the year without needing to move because of the abundance of water.

House A

592

1 Household head, Pisali
He had had two wives simultaneously but both had died. His sons by them married and were living in separate houses.

2 Current wife, Maria Chona, had left a husband at Whirling Water.

3 Son of A 1 and A 2, Two Bits
(Wife's daughter by the former husband was with her maternal uncle, in the home village.)

Land: New, taken up on emigration from Mesquite Root

Work sharing: Before the son of the family was old enough, help in the fields was given by sister's sons of A 1, B 5, B 9 and B 12. They planted their own fields first and then, without being asked, came over to work for their uncle. They were given their food and were asked to help themselves from the harvest. No criticism was made as to the quantity they took, but they returned an equal amount from their own harvest. Sisters of A 1: B 2, 3, 4, C 2, and D 2 always came to help cook during harvest, and were given a basket of beans each or its equivalent.

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●592 Gifts: A 1 was "rich" and kept cattle. When he killed a cow, he summoned all his sisters and their families, Houses B, C, D, to cook and eat at his house and on their departure gave each a three or four pound piece of meat. If any was left, he distributed it to unrelated villagers. They all returned equal amounts of meat or produce if possible. From the poor ones less was expected.

On ordinary occasions, when the family were eating porridge or vegetables, the wife cooked a five gallon pot. A large portion was sent first to husband's own sister, B 2; the family ate and, if any was left, it was sent to the half sisters, C 2 and D 2, who reciprocated in equal amounts. Five or six times a year the husband and wife got on a horse with saddlebags loaded with produce and visited the wife's family, bringing back equal amounts. The husband, A 1, who kept cattle, usually gave beef, while the wife's brothers, who were hunters, returned venison.

House B

1 Thundering Wind, household head.
2 Maria Juana, co-wife no. 1, y si of A 1 above by the same mother
3 Water Drops, younger half si of A 1 and B 2, her mother being their father's co-wife no. 2
4 Sprinkling Flowers co-wife no. 3, half si of A 1 and B 2, own si of B 3
(There was a fourth co-wife, married in old age because she was the widow of a classificatory younger brother. She remained living at her home village.)
5 From Nowhere, son of B 1 and B 2, village governor
6 Tree-Leaves-Circling, co-wife no. 1 of B 5
7 Milky-Way co-wife no. 2 of B 5 and si of B 6
8 Brilliant Leaves co-wife no. 3 of B 5 and si of B 6 and B 7
9 Apache Ears, son of B 1 and B 2
10 Scattered Songs, co-wife no. 1 of B 9
11 Luisa, co-wife no. 2 of B 9 and si of B 8
12 Nolinzo (Lorenzo) son of B 1 and B 2
13 Wife of B 12
14 Pilanzo (Esperanza) d of B 1 and B 2, died young
15 Around the Corner, son of B 1 and B 3 (other children died)
16 Tinella, wife of B 15
17 Maria, d of B 1 and B 4
18 Paula, d of B 1 and B 2 (lived in separate hut)
19 kolowinyi, husband of B 18

Living arrangements: All this family lived in one house, the various wives of the men each having a separate mat. In a separate

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house adjacent, lived B 18, daughter of B 1 and B 2, who had brought her husband to share the land because it was better than his own. She and her husband cooked and ate with the main family. On the father's death, the sons tore down the main house and each built himself a separate one. The three sons of B 1 and B 2, with their own sister, B 18, continued to have a common storehouse and common cooking arrangements, and their mother lived with the oldest brother, B 5. B 15 had a separate house in which he lived with his mother. 512

Land: B 1 had hereditary land at Mesquite Root but had emigrated with his wives when their family found better fields at Standing Rock. He retained his old field at Mesquite Root and his sons from all three wives took turns in living there in the summer and working it. When B 1 died, his two parcels of land were divided among all the sons. Sons B 5, 8, 12, kept their land in common. B 15, their half brother had a separate strip, as had their sister B 18. When B 15 died, his widow's second husband took the land.

Work sharing: Until B 1's death, all the sons worked under him, the daughters-in-law sharing the work of the one house. After his death, the three sons by co-wife no. 1 worked their land as a unit with a common storehouse. If they needed more help, they called on B 15, the half brother, and B 19, the brother-in-law, giving each a sack of produce as pay. These latter two sometimes called for help and paid in the same way. All the brothers, but particularly the oldest, B 5, worked for their uncle, A 1, and later for his widow.

Gifts: The mother of the three wives lived with a fourth married sister, C 2, who had more room but was made free of the storehouse of this family. A sister of the wives was married at San Luis, and her husband occasionally brought some of his harvest which was reciprocated. He did not bring much to the above sisters because they were married to a rich man, but gave more to C 2 who was not so rich and who had arranged his marriage.

Jesus, the fourth wife, lived thirty miles away at the village of her paternal family, where she had retired after her first husband's death. B 1 visited her once a week with saddlebags full of meat, vegetables, cheese (he kept cows), or cloth. She filled his saddlebags on the return with vegetables. Once a year she came to visit him and her co-wives, stayed two or three days and was loaded with gifts.

House C

1 Household head, Echoing Songs
2 Second wife, Susannah (first wife, no relative of Susannah, dead)

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●542 3 Son of 1 and 2, Pedro Leon
4 Daughter of C 2 by a former husband; she called her step-father, who had not been related, by the term for father's younger brother.
5 Mother of C 2, A 1, B 2, 3, 4

Living arrangements: The family lived in one house, taking care of the mother of C 2. C 2 was this woman's second daughter, the oldest one being one of the wives of B 1 whose house was crowded. The mother had lived with her third daughter, D 2, at Whirling Water; when the latter followed the rest of her family to Standing Rock, the mother came too, and C 2, then a widow joined them. C 2 finally met C 1 at a liquor festival and married him. Then she set up a separate house and her mother came to her. Her household always kept up extremely intimate relations with House D, where she had lived.

Land: C 2, when she joined her married sister at Standing Rock, was given a field by her nephew, B 5, the village chief, and he and his brothers worked it for her. When she married C 1 the work was turned over to him. C 1 had land of his own at Whirling Water, but that of his wife being better, he abandoned his own field.

Gifts: House C and House D, poorer than the other siblings, were especially intimate. They used the same storage hut, though they kept their property separate. They had different kitchens but exchanged food gifts at every meal. Two other daughters of C 5 were married to B 1, who threw his storage hut open to the mother at all times. Another daughter was married at San Luis, and her husband came twice a year to bring gifts which he presented to C 2 for distribution among all the sisters. This was because she had been instrumental in getting him her younger sister to wife. He always summoned her to help with his harvest and gave her a share of the returns. C 2, known to be the poorest of the sisters, frequently received gifts from the house of her brother, A 1, which she was not expected to return.

House D

1 Hot, household head, ob of C 1
2 Katari (Caterina) wife, own si of a A, B 2, half si of B 3, B 4, C 2
3 Juan, s of D 1 and D 2
4 Evening Waving, wife of D 3
5 Martina, d of D 1 and D 2
6 kolowinyi, husband of D 4
7 Ihna, d of D 5 and D 6

Land: D 1 was from Whirling Water. He married his wife while she was still with her family at Mesquite Root, and took her to

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Whirling Water. When the wife's family emigrated to Standing Rock, the couple joined them there, abandoning their field at Whirling Water. Their son D 3 brought his wife home in the regular way. The daughter married a man from Mesquite Root but all his family were dead so he left his land and joined his wife's family. His wife's mother was at that time with them but on arriving at Standing Rock she went to her older daughter Susannah. 592

Gifts: This family and that of Susannah, House C lived close together and used the same storehouse. They did not eat together but exchanged food gifts at every meal.

4. Group of relatives at San Pedro (Tobacco Mountain) from about 1900 to the present (informant 2) 592 621

This group had moved from Coyote Village, a settlement in the hills. A mountain spring was near enough to the village so that the people did not need to move in winter but they did so, going to Mesquite Root, a larger place, for fear of the Apache. In summer they had to go into the valley, some times three or four miles away, to plant. The informant, A 1, discovered that water was obtainable near Tobacco Mountain and dug a well there. Two of his "distant" paternal uncles followed him and the three started a new permanent settlement. of which A 1 was made governor. Relatives from Coyote Village joined them for planting but returned to the old village in the winter.

House A 592

1 Donkey Shoulder, head
2 Wife
3 Ramon, son of A 1 and A 2
4 son of A 1 and A 2
(A daughter married in Coyote Village 17 miles away)

Living arrangements: All lived in one house until the two sons married and built separate shelters but the family used the common kitchen.

Land: A 1, on coming to Tobacco Mountain fenced off a field for himself which he works with his sons.

Work sharing: When the help of his sons is not sufficient, A 1 calls on the two senior "uncles" who joined his pioneer venture. He continues to call on their families though nearer relatives have now joined him. For large operations, such as plowing, which is done with White man's tools, the whole village works together, taking the fields in rotation.

Gifts: The women of the family sent out food gifts two or three times a week. "Not much because there was not much food." Only one or two families received gifts on one day; they were

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

592 taken in turn, the senior uncles' turn coming oftenest. The gifts were reciprocated the same day. When A 1 kills a beef, he invites the whole village (all connected) to partake. This may happen two or three times a year. He always fills his saddlebags and takes a large portion to the married daughter in Coyote Village.

Heads of families living at Tobacco Mountain who exchange food gifts with A 1 and who are given beef when he slaughters:

B Teviso Luis, ffobs s called "older uncle" one of the pioneers
C Wilamin ffobs s called "older uncle" one of the pioneers
D Sipela (Cypriano) ffybss called "younger uncle"
E Nestoro fob to C
F Nicola fbs to C
G Filomeno fsi s to E and F
H Nasio fsi s to E and F
I Francisco brother of F
J Avilano (his wife is mbd to F)
K Manuel Chappo m b s to wife of D
L Narisco Lopez obs to A
M Tomaso obs to A
N Domingo son of H

592 621 5. Group at tciaur (Devil[1]-Sitting) about 1890, informant 21

Devil-Sitting was a summer planting ground settled by a group of paternal kin. Some moved in winter to the well at Comobabi (Mulberry Well) where they met a group from the other side of the family. The camp of these other relatives was about three-quarters of a mile away and, though it contained some who were closely related, the group from Devil-Sitting had no gift relations with them (21).

House A

592 1 Ego's f, a widower
2 Ego,
3 d

House B

1 m of A 1

House C

1 yb of A 1, unmarried
2 yb of A 1,
3 yb of A 1

Living arrangements: The three houses above were small huts whose function was that of rooms in a single dwelling. The

[1] "Devil" names omitted since informant objected to giving those of the dead.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

place had been the home of the father of A 1 who was dead. A hut had been built for his widow near by and another for her three unmarried sons. The married son, now a widower, lived in another hut with his two children and the grandmother cooked for all. 592

Land: All the sons together worked the dead father's land, undivided.

Work sharing: Work was done by five brothers, four in one household, one separate. A 1 and C 1, 2, 3, kept their share together, D 1 separate. At harvest time, the first four sent for the relatives of the dead wife of A 1, to help work. A man and wife would receive one sack of produce (harvest sometimes ten sacks.) Only one couple was asked each year, since there would not be enough to pay more. The Akchin relatives reciprocated. A 2 was frequently sent by A 1, his father, to help his senior uncle in his field, since the latter had not many sons. He fed the boy and gave him moral advice.

Gifts: Cooked food was sent every day to D 1, father's older brother. It was sent about three times a week to E 1 and when F 1 arrived, also to him. "We would have given to more relatives but there were no others there." Gifts were sent by turns to three brothers of B 1 at a distance. Some four gallons of corn mush were cooked each night, the gifts were sent out and the family ate the remainder. Gifts came in each evening. When A 1 killed a deer, he took portions to Houses D, E, and F. About six times a year he carried meat to the relatives of his dead wife, at Akchin (25 miles). A senior first cousin of A 1 used to visit him at the Well, bringing corn and cooked mescal. A 1 went to Coyote Sitting in return, taking produce.

House D

1 head, ob of A 1
2 wife
3 son
4 son
5 son

Living arrangements: D 1 had moved from the family group of huts even before the father died and set up separate housekeeping.

Land and Work: He used a separate portion of the father's land. Though he and his brothers tilled all together, he took the harvest from one strip. His nephew, A 2, was often sent in to help him.

Gifts: When D 1 killed a deer, he distributed meat as A 1 did. Occasionally he sent gifts to his wife's people, and at harvest time called the neighboring relatives in to help themselves.

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House E

1 wife's m b to A 1, with wife and children

Land: Had moved to Devil when his niece, now dead, had married, because there was more land.

Work Sharing: Cultivated his own field with sons, called the others in at harvest time to help themselves.

Gifts: Sent food gifts frequently to House F, his relative, less often to A, B, C, D, affinals.

House F

1 ob s of dead wife of A 1, with wife and children

Land: F 1 had land in Achin where the wife of A 1 had lived. Being crowded there, and finding more at Devil, he moved without asking permission. He kept with the Devil people even in summer, when they moved back among his own relatives.

Work sharing: He worked his field with his sons, but when he needed help he called on his nearest relative, E 1.

Gifts: At harvest time affinal relatives at Devil were asked to help themselves and paternal kin from Akchin were sent for.

592 221 In winter, when water failed at Devil, Households A, B, C, and F moved to Mulberry Well, the winter camp used by the people of Akchin, the home of the dead wife of A 1. Here they met a group of this woman's relatives, but camped three quarters of a mile away from them and exchanged gifts only rarely. Their customary gift giving went on in their own circle. It may be mentioned that E 1 and F 1 were both Akchin people but, having moved to Devil, they now made their winter camp with its residents and formed part of their gift giving circle, not that of their nearer kin.

[621]

Group at Comobabi (Mulberry) Well

Houses A, B, C, E, F, as at Devil

House G

1 f of dead wife of A 1
2 wife of G 1
3 f of G 2

House H

Brothers of dead wife of A 1 with wives and children

House I

Mother's brothers of dead wife of A 1

A few relatives of A 1 himself also came to Mulberry Well, but stayed near the relatives of A 1's dead wife and exchanged gifts with them because they had fields near them at home and had "got used to it." These were:

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House J

f si of A 1

House K

f f o s s to A 1

House L

m brothers of A 1

6. Households at Anegam (The Willows) about 1880 (informant 5)

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The family had headquarters at the Willows, where they built brush houses. When the water gave out there, they went to the foothills to hunt, living in roofless circular enclosures. During planting time they moved to and fro between The Willows and their fields, some of which were five miles away at the base of the hills, where flood water collected.

592

House A

1 Never-Says-Anything, head, o b of B 1, C 2, m o b of D 2
2 wife of 1 (elderly, no children)

Living arrangements: A 1 was the head of a group of relatives, inclouding a younger brother and a sister and a niece. All had separate houses for sleeping, but cooked and ate together in a common kitchen, the younger women dividing the work and taking food from a common storehouse.

Land: The four relatives used their inherited land in common. They had two fields, one near the mountain for melons and one at home for other crops.

Work sharing: Work was done by the men of the four households without outside help. They took turns living in a windbreak near the mountain to tend the melon field.

Gifts: Gifts of dried meat, salt and cactus syrup were sent to distant cousins at Santa Rosa (5 miles away) three or four times a year.

House B

1 head, yb of A 1, o b of C 2, m ob of D 2
2 wife of 1
3 Coyote-Skin-Quiver s of B 1 and B 2
4 Pitala d of B 1 and B 2
5 Chawa s of B 1 and B 2

Living arrangements: Separate house but shared meals as with A1.
Land: Father's field shared with ob, ysi and y si d as with A 1
Work sharing: Shared by men of four families
Gifts: as with A 1.

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House C

●592
1 head
2 Having a Belt, wife of C 1
3 Licenza (Crescenza) d of c 1 and C 2, other daughters died

Living arrangements: Separate house but shared meals as with A 1
Land: The husband was from another village but came to his wife's family because they had more land.
Work sharing: The men of the four families worked the fields in common.
Gifts: As with A 1.

House D

1 Hugging-an-Owl, head
2 Flowering Wind, wife of D 1, si d to A 1, B 1, C 2
3 Dionisio, s of D 1 and D 2
4 s of A 1 by a former wife
5 s of D 1 by a former wife
(A daughter of D 1 and D 2 had married a Pima and was living at Sacaton. Another lived at Akchin six miles away.)

Living arrangements: Separate house and shared meals as with A 1
Land: D 1 came from Santa Rosa (5 miles away) where he had land but he had left it to live with his wife's uncles who had more. But he still pented his field at Santa Rosa and visited it occasionally. His younger sister's daughter, had married at Santa Rosa and her husband had made a new field where D 1 sometimes planted. When D 1 died, his sons left the Willows to the other families and went to their sister at Sacaton, then a widow. They used her land until her sons grew up, then returned to The Willows, broke new land and planted.
Work Sharing: D 1 worked the Willows land with the men of the other families keeping the produce in common.
Gifts: D 1, the youngest of the group, was a hunter. When he killed a deer, he sent word to his daughter in Santa Rosa and younger sister's daughter in Akchin, who came to help butcher and cook. They feasted with the rest of the family and each took home a large piece. This family sent out everything they had cooked for a meal and ate the return gifts. At harvest they sent for the daughters at Akchin and Sacaton, and the niece of D 1 at Santa Rosa bidding them help themselves.

7. Group at Imikah, [(Field of) the Relatives,] about 1870 (informant 41)

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621 This group contained only three families, two brothers and a sister. Their father had moved from Hikiwanyi a few miles away and broken new land. The two brothers had always used it and the sister, when she lost her husband, returned there. In the dry

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season, they went to Red Well, where they met other paternal kin but the three families camped close and kept their gift exchange circle as before. The informant, in this case, would not use the names of the dead.

House A

1 head
2 wife of A 1
3 s
4 s
5 d
6 d
(One son had married a woman at White Clay and lived with his father-in-law who had no man in the family)

House B

1 head
2 widow of B 1, si of A 1
3 d
4
5

Living arrangements: The two houses were the equivalents of rooms in a large dwelling; the families cooking and eating together under a large shade. As between the two older women "there was no particular head."

Land: The fields were new, having been first broken by the father of A 1. They were divided between A 1 and his brother and the produce kept separate. No separate land was given to B 2. She was part of the family of A 1.

Work sharing: A 1 and his brother, C 1, sometimes worked the fields as a unit, sometimes each worked his own, the one who finished soonest helping the other.

Gifts: Dishes of food were sent between this family and House C at their meals, twice a day. The married son, living with his wife's people, was invited to come at harvest and help himself. A brother of A 2 living at a distance was invited in the same way to stay through harvest and took home a large storage basket (three feet high) full. The guests asked for the particular kind of produce which they lacked. They reciprocated at their own harvest with equal amounts but different produce if possible.

House C

1 head yb of A 1
2 wife of C 1
3 d with husband and children part time
4 d with husband and children part time
5 d with husband and children part time

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592 Living arrangements: The daughters were not at home all the time but, the father having no sons, one of them was generally there with her husband.

Land: The land, having been first broken by the father of A 1, was shared between him and his brother. His sons-in-law had land of their own at Kaka, across the mountains, which they cultivated.

Work sharing: C 1, when there were no sons-in-law to help him, called on his brother's family who had two sons, but more people to feed. All worked in both fields until the work was done, but kept the produce separate.

Gifts: Cooked food was exchanged with Houses A and B at the main meal every day. At harvest the sons-in-law, whether they had helped or not, were asked to come and help themselves. They brought gifts with them from their own fields.

592 621 166 8. Households at Tecalote (Owl's Hoot) about 1890—1900 (informant 32)

This group of relatives had been migrating for several generations, about the southern part of the reservation and over the Mexican border. They had settled at Tecalote, then they went to Poso Verde (Mexico) Baboquivari, San Miguel, Vamori, leaving a few of their members at each place. One family finally returned to Tecalote and there dug a reservoir in a low spot. Their fields they planted in a wash some three miles away. Every summer, at cactus time, they joined the relatives from the above mentioned places and went into the foothills of Mexico to pick organ cactus. In the winters they worked in Mexico.

592 621 When the father of the single Tecalote family died, four of the children, two sons and two daughters used his field until the oldest son made himself a new one. The other three divided up the old field, though they worked it all together. Of the remaining two, a daughter married a man with a field at Wamori and a son acted as cowboy for the family cattle.

House A

592 1 Acting-Like-a-Girl, family head
2 "The Head Woman", osi of B 1, C 1, D 2, E 1, F 1
3 Manuel, son of A 1 and A 2
4 Salvador, son
5 Cecilia, d
6 Jose, s
7 Anton, s
8 Candelario

Land: A 2 should properly have gone to her husband's land but he was from a Mexican village where the men were day laborers

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

without land; so she brought him to the land her father had cleared. This she shared with her younger brother C 1 and her sister F 2, the land being divided into three plots. 592

Work sharing: The men of Houses A, C, and F, cultivated the land together though each kept his produce in his own storehouse. When they needed help, they called on E 1 who cared for the family cattle herd, paying him in produce. Before E 1 was married, he lived with A 1 and worked as a member of her family without extra pay. She objected to E 1's marriage because it deprived her of a farm hand.

Gifts: Houses A and B, belonging to the oldest brother and sister of the family maintained special intimacy, sending small food gifts, enough for one person, every day. They gave produce to sister D 2, deserted by her husband, whenever she was at home.

House B

1 Jose Juan, nickname kuksali (cucharo) spoon, head. He was ob of C 1, D 2, E 1, F 2, yb of A 2
2 Listiana (Christiana) Mexican
3 Marcanton son of B 1 and B 2
4 Jose Maria son
5 Juan Jose son
6 Josepha, d of B 1 and B 2
7 Lucia d
8 Maria d
9 d of B 2 by former husband
10 d of B 2 by former husband

Land: B 1, the oldest son in the family, broke a new field, leaving the inherited land to his siblings. He considered the new land entirely his property and never made gifts from it.

Work sharing: B 1 worked his land with the aid of his sons, rarely called on his brothers. He, like them, shared in the herd of cattle which was in charge of E 1 and all paid E 1 in produce.

Gifts: The intimate relations of B 1 were with A 2, the oldest of the family. These two oldest lived close together and sent food gifts almost daily. The gifts were only a gesture, perhaps a portion for one person. They went occasionally to visit F 2 who lived three miles away, took a gift and received and equal amount. They gave produce to D 2, deserted by her husband, whenever she was at home.

House C

1 Pedro, head yb of A 2, B 1, F 2, o b of D 2, E 1
2 Lipinza
3 Silapo, son of C 1 and C 2
4 Ramon, son
5 (Daughter Isilia married and went to Vamori)

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

592 Land: C 1 who was the second son, shared the father's land with his sisters A 2, and F 2, the land being divided into three portions.

Work sharing: C 1 shared the work on the land with A 1 and F 1, the husbands of his sisters. When they needed more help, they called on E 1 who had no land but cared for the family herd. They paid him in produce.

Gifts: Houses C, E, and D were close together, C 1, E 1, and D 2 being the three youngest of the family felt a solidarity, and exchanged small food gifts daily. They never sent to B, the older brother whose house was farther off and who had made a new field, and they rarely sent to A 2, the oldest sister who was disagreeably domineering. When D 2 was deserted by her husband, the brothers C 1 and E 1 supplied her food.

House D

1 Dolores, head
2 Jesus, wife of D 1, o si of E 1, y si of A 2, B 1, C 1, F 2
3 Margarita, d of D 1 and D 2
4 Jose, son
5 Joaquina, d
6 Luis, s
7 s

Land: This sister married a man with land at Vamori, the next village but continued living at Tecalote because of the reservoir. Her husband went to school at Hampton and afterward deserted her. She went periodically to Tucson to work for the Whites, and in the intervals brothers C and E supported her.

Gifts: House D was within 200 yards of E which was the same distance from C. All three exchanged food gifts daily. D 2, E 1 and C 1 were the three youngest of the family and felt a solidarity.

House E

1 Juan Diego yb of A 2, B 1, F 2, C 1, D 2
2 1st wife, Mexican, left
3 2nd wife, left
4 3rd wife
5 son
6 son
7 Carmen, d

Living arrangements: E 1 was the youngest of the family and after the death of his parents lived with oldest sister, A 2. When he took a wife, he brought her home there, but the sister, A 2, scared her out so that her father took her away. E 1 then took another wife and built a separate house but his sister, who

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

wished his services for herself made life miserable for this wife also until she left. E 1 then took a third who was the mother of his children. 592

Land: E 1 never had any land. The land left by his father was divided between brothers B 1 and C 1 and sister F 2. E 1 the youngest, helped them work it. When he was old and his children grown, he broke some new land at Tecalote and began to plant.

Work sharing: The father of all the siblings had been a shaman and had accumulated some cattle as payment. These were kept in a common herd, though marked with the brands of the individual siblings. E 1, as youngest, was told off to ride herd on them and did so until he was too old to ride. He was paid in goods and some of the cattle. Says A 2, the oldest sister never let him have his share.

Gifts: Houses C, D, and E were 200 yards apart. The two brothers, C 1 and E 1 and the sister D 2, were the three youngest of the family and felt specially intimate. They exchanged food gifts every day, sending a very small amount, such as a bowl holding two cupfuls of cooked beans and three tortillas. Once or twice a year they sent such delicacies as chile or meat. They sent much more rarely to A 2, the domineering older sister. When she made her return gifts to E, they were never food but soap, thread needles. She would admonish the child who brought the food gift to go home and tell her mother to do some sewing for her. With the older brother, B 1, there was no gift exchange, his field being in Vamori, the old family home. The sister, F 2, was three miles away; she gave when any of the E family visited, but there was no regular exchange. Family E went in winters to Mexico and always stopped with F on the way back, bringing her a sack of figs, chile, and pomgranates. Relatives of E 4 lived in the neighborehood and were sent occasional food gifts. When E 1 butchered a deer, he was accustomed to give to relative and neighbors alike, all reciprocating with farm produce.

House F

1 head
2 Maria Juana, o si of C 1, D 2, E 1, y si of A 2, B 1
3 Luisa d of F 1 and F 2
4 Ramon, s
5 Jose, s
6 Serafina, d
7 Charlita, d
8 Rosita

Land: This sister lived near the planting field three miles from the other houses. She kept her cattle near the house instead of

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

● 592 with the family herd and made a business of making cheese which she traded in Mexico for fruit and dried meat.

Work sharing: F 1 worked the field with A 1 and C 1. When they needed more help, they called on E 1 and paid him in produce.

Gifts: F 2 was too far away to exchange gifts with any of the family, but she gave them a cheese if she came to visit. They reciprocated with produce.

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DISTRIBUTION OF PAPAGO TRAITS MENTIONED

	Shoshoneans, Basin and Plateau	Shoshoneans, Calif.	Western Pueblos	Eastern Pueblos	Mexico	River Yumans	Upland Yumans
No distinction parallel and cross cousins	×			/	×		
Age distinctions between siblings	×	×	×	/	×	×	×
Age, sex, lineage in uncle class		×			/	×	×
4 grandparental terms	×			/	×	×	×
Affinals singled out as a class, not merged	/	×	/	/		/	
Moieties		×		×			
Sibs		×	×	×		×	/
Sib names for individuals		/	/			×	
Localized lineage		/	×	/	×	/	/
Set of hereditary village officers		×	×	/			
Star names		×			×	×	×
Organized warfare					×	×	
Scalps rather than prisoners			×	×		/	
Warrior purification			×	/	×	×	
Intervillage games			/		×		
Birth segregation	×	×	/			/	/
Presentation to sun			×	×	×		
Postnatal purification			×	×	×		
Girl's segregation at puberty	×	/	/			/	/
Menstruation dangerous	/	/					/
Animal guardian	×					×	×
Power in dream	×					×	×
Exogamy rules extend equally both sides family	×	/	/	/		/	/
Temporary matrilocal residence	×				/	/	
Light woman					×	×	
Sororate and levirate	×				/	/	
Bury and cremate	×				×		
Destroy property at death	×	×			×	×	×
Exorcism at death		×	×	×	×		
Name of dead taboo	×	×	×		×	×	×

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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chapter iii, most families who own cattle do little slaughtering for themselves and thus do not eat the organ meats and blood which were an important part of Papago diet in the old days. School lunches are helping to supply some of these dietary deficiencies, but experimentation and education will be necessary before home diets are improved.

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THE PAPAGO HOUSEHOLD

The family is the most important unit in the Papago social structure, whether home is a tiny structure of wattle-and-daub or a five-room house with a shingle roof, wooden floor, refrigerator, washing machine, and radio. Family solidarity is strong. Most often, and ideally, a household consists of the old parents, unmarried sons and daughters, and married sons with their wives and children—three generations in all. But, since relatives may always be depended on for hospitality, the constitution of the household shifts as convenience and necessity require. Any relative is given a temporary or permanent place in the domicile as long as he is willing to assume his share of responsibility for the family livelihood and to fit quietly into the family structure. It is a rare household that does not include a widowed daughter, a distant cousin, a child whose parents have died or remarried; or an "illegitimate" child. Brothers or sisters of the old parents (also regarded as grandparents by their siblings' grandchildren)[3] may also be part of the family. Many and varied are the combinations of relatives who may live together.

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Thus a Papago child is usually born into a family that includes not merely his father and mother and brothers and sisters but several other relatives. The precise combination does not signify. Whether his grandparents are maternal or paternal, whether the other adults are his aunts and uncles or more distant relatives, a child's family relationships are such that the absence of one particular relative is no deprivation, if there is another who can take his place. Both the child and his relatives are prepared to accept substitutes even in the essential roles.

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Every relative, however, has his proper designation. Some kinship terms differentiate persons who would, in English, have a common appellation. Thus there is a different term in Papago for an uncle who is the mother's younger brother from one who is the father's older brother. On the other hand, the same terms are used for persons who are differentiated in English. Brothers and sisters and all degrees of cousins are called by one of two terms; these terms do not distinguish sex but rather the comparative ages of the speaker and

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3. Siblings are children of the same parents.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended family. One type of kinship terminology which is dying out on the Reservation has been correlated by Underhill with a former sib structure.[11] The several different terms for "father" in this terminology seem to have indicated patrilineal lines. The significance of these terms today is difficult to determine, for they are being replaced rapidly by the generalized term for "father" (*auk*) or, in many families, by "daddy." It is safe to say that no well-developed clan concept survives and that the present concept of the family and the extended family has not changed radically within the past generation.

The old people say that, when I'itoi created men, he called the first one a Coyote, the next a Buzzard, the third a Coyote, and so on until all mankind (i.e., all the Papago) was divided into two groups. The younger people today hardly know to which group they belong, and some say that they belong to both; even for the elders the terms seem to have little significance except on ceremonial occasions, when they form the basis of standardized joking.

The Papago have no other formalized humor as do many Indian tribes, but jokes and teasing are the salt of daily life. Low and spontaneous laughter rises whenever the Desert People are gathered together, or the occasion is indeed a serious one.

MAKING A LIVING TOGETHER

In Papago society the household is the fundamental economic unit, and each member does his share of the work necessary to make a living in this difficult environment. Men are responsible for tilling the fields and caring for the livestock; women manage the domestic essentials; children help with the household or farm chores according to their strength and ability. The division of labor is thus fairly definite, but all work together when necessary. Women and children help bring in the crops and gather wild plants and fruits. Boys of ten or eleven often plow.

Both men and women make articles for sale or barter. Most women know how to weave baskets; a few make pottery or occasionally sew for others. The men tan leather and braid ropes of rawhide or horsehair. Money earned by handicrafts is thought of as belonging to the artisan rather than to the group, but in a society where incomes are low, a considerable proportion of such earnings must be used for family needs.

Since the introduction of wage work, some members of the family, particularly the young adults, are beginning to feel less obligation to contribute to the household. Most of them, however, continue to help, either bringing home provisions or sending money. Wage-earners who do not assist the family are

11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

621 361 themselves to that village. At the most, there are ten co-resident groups but information revealed in interviews shows us that seldom, if ever, do these ten groups identify with each other as separate and distinct from San Miguel or any other village mentioned.

Chukut Kuk (Tecolote)(Chukut Kuk District). This settlement too has no public building. There were only three co-resident groups living here and each had an outside orientation to either Sells or Ajo.

Pia Oik (Gu Vo District). This settlement had but three co-resident groups at the time of observation and but two abandoned houses to receive any more residents. There is a church, but it is in the fenced compound of Lewis Manuel and is more a family church than a community one. No priest visits this location regularly.

Chuwut Murk (Pisinimo District). This settlement [166] is barely accessible in August. Informants report that everyone moves to Pisinimo during the school year so that their children may attend. There is a church, but no priest visits it regularly.

Cuvobabi and Schuchk (Schuk Toak District).

• [592] [166] Cuvobabi has only one household of permanent residents, two old spinsters. There are, however, fifteen houses here in good condition and at least six to eight of these are inhabited seasonally. This village is best classified as seasonally "vacant".

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171 This Papago family including parents and sometimes another adult, with 2 or 3 children is a comparatively smaller unit than native families living on European owned South African farms, for example. There Dutch and English settlers also moved into native held lands, and a class of permanent native farm laborers has grown up. Their average household includes slightly more than 3 adults, and 5 children.[1] This is about the size
596 of the Papago extended family living as a household
592 on the reserves. "Most often, and ideally, a household consists of the old parents, unmarried sons and daughters, and married sons with their wives and children--three generations in all."[2] It reflects the fact that living on European operated farms is new to the Desert People, a move accomplished by biological family units in the younger age groups.
[177] Only recently as younger Papagos have gone to school and learned white ways have they begun to set up separate households away from their parents.

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162 Families with school-age children are the largest in the labor camps. The average family size for families with school-age offspring only is over 6.[3] The families with both school and pre-school children averaged over 7 individuals.[4] This probably reflects
[165] the high mortality rate of smaller children among the Desert People, whose new-born babies have a life expectancy of only 17 years.[5]

Families with younger parents and all pre-school age children are, of course, smaller, running some 4 individuals, with nearly 2 children per family.[6]

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178 Migration to the cotton fields reinforces the tendency to break up the old Papago extended family into smaller units like our biological family households. This change is most complete among families living in labor camps all the time, having severed their reservation ties more or less completely.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 391.
[2] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 45.
[3] 10 families interviewed with 19 school children, 66.
[4] 8 families with 10 school children, 1.25 average, and 14 pre-school, 1.75 average, had 57 persons, 7.125 average, plus.
[5] 8 families with 15 children under 6 had 38 plus people.
[6] Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 12.

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464 Probably the whole body of Papago cotton harvesters earned a gross income in the neighborhood of $600,000 in 1950.[1] This amount very likely represents about half the total cash income of the Papago Indians in 1950. Added to wages earned in the Ajo and reservation mines, working for the government, the Tribe, traders, and the highway department and in domestic service, and the wages of Papago farm workers during the rest of the year, this figure probably represents a total wage labor income comprising over 60% of all Papago income.[2]

511 The $600,000 gross cotton picking income estimate does not represent anywhere near that amount in take-home to the reserve pay, however. Workers must support themselves while they are picking cotton, pay for their pilgrimmages on religious occasions, for any trips they take back to the reserves during picking season, and for clothes and food purchased against lean days without work after picking is done.

During the war it was estimated that $50 of every $100 received by Papagos was spent by them in the trading posts on their reserves at once.[3] Since many Papagos were in the services or doing defense work who are now on the reserves or picking cotton, the proportion is probably only slightly lower. Almost as much went into the coffers of merchants outside the reserves during the war[4] and this amount has increased if anything at the expense of reservation traders. In any case, the Desert People can return home with little cash.

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[1] Calculated as follows: Average seasonal income per family with man and wife picking is about $600 ($635 in upland or $585 in American-Egyptian, but a family usually had to pick some of both) assuming the workers starting before September approximately balance those starting later. The number of families with $600 gross income in 1950 was about 1,000 (figuring 2 pickers per family in a labor force of 2,000). Actually income was probably higher because of additional amounts earned by children after school hours and on holidays, and those families with more than 3 steady pickers, and families in which wives worked a full week.

[2] Laboring wages made up 86% of Papago income in 1947, and the figure is undoubtedly higher now. Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 31.

[3] Program, Papago Reservations, 1944, p. 43.

[4] Ibid., p. 43.